

Prof. Morgan

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ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED AT NEW YORK, MAY 9, 1848.

WITH

THE RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESSES.

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY THE A. & F. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

WILLIAM HARNED, OFFICE AGENT, NO. 61 JOHN STREET,

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THE SOCIETY'S DEPOSITORY.

The Office of the Society and its Depository are at No. 61 John street. A general assortment of Anti-Slavery Publications is here kept for sale, and upwards of one hundred newspapers (including all the anti-slavery newspapers in this and foreign countries), are on file for the gratuitous use of the friends of the cause, and the public generally.

WILLIAM HARNED, Office Agent.

FORM OF BEQUESTS.

I give, devise, and bequeathe, to my Executors the sum of _____ dollars in trust, to pay over the same to Wm. E. Whiting, Treasurer of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, or to such other person as shall, at the time of my death, be the Treasurer of said Society, to be held and applied by him to the charitable uses of said Society.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of this Society was held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on Tuesday, May 9th, 1848, at 3 o'clock, P. M., ARTHUR TAPPAN, President, in the chair.

The Rev. Duncan Dunbar, pastor of the church in Macdougall street, New York, then read the 10th Psalm.

WHY standest thou afar off, O LORD? *why* hidest thou *thyself* in times of trouble?

2. The wicked in *his* pride doth persecute the poor: let them be taken in the devices that they have imagined.

3. For the wicked boasteth of his heart's desire, and blesseth the covetous, *whom* the LORD abhorreth.

4. The wicked, through the pride of his countenance, will not seek *after* God: God *is* not in all his thoughts.

5. His ways are always grievous; thy judgments *are* far above out of his sight: *as for* all his enemies, he puffeth at them.

6. He hath said in his heart, I shall not be moved: for I *shall* never *be* in adversity.

7. His mouth is full of cursing, and deceit and fraud: under his tongue *is* mischief and vanity.

8. He sitteth in the lurking-places of the villages: in the secret places doth he murder the innocent: his eyes are privily set against the poor.

9. He lieth in wait secretly as a lion in his den: he lieth in wait to catch the poor: he doth catch the poor, when he draweth him into his net.

10. He croucheth, *and* humbleth himself, that the poor may fall by his strong ones.

11. He hath said in his heart, God hath forgotten: he hideth his face; he will never see *it*.

12. Arise, O LORD; O God, lift up thine hand: forget not the humble.

13. Wherefore doth the wicked contemn God? he hath said in his heart, thou wilt not require *it*.

14. Thou hast seen *it*; for thou beholdest mischief and spite, to requite *it* with thy hand: the poor committeth himself unto thee; thou art the helper of the fatherless.

15. Break thou the arm of the wicked and the evil *man*: seek out *his* wickedness *till* thou find none.

16. The LORD *is* King for ever and ever: the heathen are perished out of his land.

17. LORD, thou hast heard the desire of the humble : thou wilt prepare their heart, thou wilt cause thine ear to hear :

18. To judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppress.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Charles W. Gardner, pastor of the colored church at Princeton, N. J.

An abstract of the Annual Report was read by the acting Corresponding Secretary. After which, a Liberty song was sung by Masters Luca, accompanied by the youngest on the piano forte.*

The following resolutions were then read, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, by Lewis Tappan.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That we are grateful to the God of the oppressed, that the Anti-Slavery cause has so greatly advanced during the past year, amid the opposition of enemies, the apathy of nominal friends, and the willingness of the majority of electors to sacrifice humanity and liberty on the altar of party.

Resolved, That as great reforms, on moral subjects, do not occur except under the influence of religious principles—that as “the church is an organization to put down all moral evil, either within her own body or out of it”—and as “there is no power out of the church that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained by it,” a solemn responsibility rests upon every disciple of Christ, to employ his resources for the extermination of this hateful crime against man, and this odious sin against God.

Resolved, That as the Bible is the acknowledged standard of morals in this nation, as its divine Author has directed all men to search the Scriptures, and as it is provided in the Constitution of the American Bible Society that endeavors shall be made for circulating the Scriptures throughout the United States and their Territories, that institution is bound to see that every slave in this land, who can read, is supplied with a copy, either through its auxiliaries or otherwise, without unnecessary delay.

Resolved, That it is a subject of congratulation that so many ecclesiastical and political bodies, and individuals, have, during the past year, borne testimony to the unrighteousness of slavery, and the war for its extension—

* It was stated that the “Luca Family” consists of the parents and seven children, who are excellent singers. They reside at New Haven, Connecticut, and are of pure African blood. The four lads who sang on this occasion are from ten to sixteen years of age. The youngest is uncommonly skilful on the piano forte, and accompanied his brothers on this occasion on that instrument. Professor Fitch, of New Haven, we learn, speaks highly of his musical genius. What will be thought, said the Chairman of the Committee, of New Haven, the seat of Yale College, when it is known, that although the School Fund of Connecticut amounts to nearly two millions of dollars, these interesting lads are, by public opinion, virtually excluded from the common schools!

to the incompatibility of involuntary servitude with true republicanism and pure Christianity; and that we trust that these testimonies will be greatly multiplied, until every sound divine and honest statesman in the land will unite in denouncing piracy on land as well as on the high seas.

Resolved, That we contemplate with peculiar satisfaction the efforts making by the free people of color to engage in agricultural pursuits, and establish educational societies, believing that it is emphatically true, with respect to them, that KNOWLEDGE IS POWER.

Resolved, That the war on Mexico, begun for the purpose of extending slavery, has been continued to save the Administration from disgrace; that the results of the war confer no true glory on this country, but contrariwise, shame; that the code of ethics which induces men to vote for supplies, and which exults in victories, while the war itself is denounced, is absurd and pernicious; and that honor, humanity, and patriotism, demand peace without robbery, and a settlement of boundaries without slavery.

Resolved, That we rejoice in the overthrow of a tyrannical censorship of the press in Paris, in the establishment of a free Government in France, in the decree for the immediate abolition of slavery in all the French colonies and dependencies, and—in the maintenance of a free press in Washington.

Resolved, That we sympathize alike with nations and individuals who cast off the shackles of oppression, and resolve to be free; and hold in detestation tyrannical power, whether exercised at the head of a nation or of a plantation—that we welcome to these free States fugitives from political or personal slavery from every State and clime under Heaven—that we consider it a privilege and a duty to shield them from assault, arrest, and annoyance, and to aid them in securing an asylum for themselves and their families, with the enjoyment of civil and religious freedom.

Resolved, That we contemplate with delight the progress of emancipation in the colonies of Sweden, Denmark, and France, in Lahore, Peru, and New Grenada, and earnestly hope that the last spot on earth where slavery exists will not be the Republic that was first to proclaim the equality of man, and his inalienable title to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Resolved, That the manly conduct of Hon. John P. Hale, in the Senate of the United States, and of Messrs. Giddings, Palfrey, and Tuck, in the House of Representatives, entitle them to the respect and gratitude of all who truly adopt the great Republican watchword, "Liberty—Equality—Fraternity;" and that this respect and gratitude should also be awarded to all who have stood up fearlessly in Congress or in State Legislatures for the rights of man.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the principles of the liberty party, and the nomination of Messrs. Hale and King for the two highest offices in the gift of the people; and hope that every elector who is opposed to slavery or its extension—to war and its atrocities—and who desires to rescue the country from the reproach under which it lies in view of other nations—will be true to his avowed principles, and cordially unite in giving his suffrages for men who prefer principle to party, and the honor of the nation to its success in arms.

Resolved, That we renew our pledge to the friends of emancipation, and to slavetraders and slaveholders throughout the world, that we will not desist from opposition to slavery until the accursed system is overthrown, and liberty proclaimed "throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

H. B. STANTON, Esq., was introduced to the audience and spoke of the Wilmot proviso. He said it was time the American people understood it, and made up their minds as to their own action upon it; for he believed within three weeks from that time, a deliberate scheme would be put in force to swindle the people of this Union—and the friends of the proviso in particular—out of their votes in November, at the Presidential election. Every candidate upon the stump next fall, should have this distinct question submitted to him: "Are you in favor of prohibiting slavery by an express act of Congress, in any territory that we have fought, stolen, or bullied out of Mexico?" (Hisses.) He heard some person hiss at the remark, "bought, stolen, or bullied;" he asked if neither of these three words expressed the mode in which we had acquired, or were to acquire territory from Mexico? Let them take which term they pleased. The question of no more territory is at an end, for we have it, and the question is simply as to the admission of slavery into new territory. This proviso is like the old ordinance of Congress decreeing freedom northwest of the Ohio; and this question is to be *the* question to be put to every candidate for office. Now, has Congress power to enact this proviso? It has by the constitution, and has always recognised its own power. The principle lies lower than constitutional law. Lord Mansfield laid down the principle that slavery depended on local laws, and was so contrary to nature that it could never live out of the support of those laws. Mr. S. went into a general argument to show that the territory of Mexico, being now free by the act of the Mexican government of 1829, which he read and pronounced one of the grandest documents ever written, must ever continue free, by the laws which always govern conquered provinces, until the conqueror abrogates them by special laws. It was fair and honest for slaveholders to say to them in the beginning, "This territory is free, and must for ever remain so; if you go there, you do it with the understanding that your slaves, if you carry them, become free the moment their feet touch the soil." If slavery were once permitted in that free territory, it would be a virtual prohibition of free labor; for freemen would not emigrate there to be placed on a level with slaves: for slavery brings all labor to its own degraded level. The experience of the thirteen States had proved that free and slave labor could

not coexist on the same soil. What free laborer, with an honest heart, would go to South Carolina and work where the principle is held that labor is the property of wealth, and that laborers are slaves? Not one. He said he knew his argument was a dull one to ladies, but he did not know but that, if the cause of liberty went on as now, they would need to know constitutional law as well as men in a few years. Mr. Stanton referred to the opposite arguments of one of the Senators of Florida, whom he alluded to as "Mr. Yulee, a distinguished member of Congress—no! he is NOT distinguished, unless it be as the mere shadow of Mr. Calhoun!" [Laughter.] The South pleads that slavery was entailed on them. Admit it. With what face, then, can they force slavery on new territories at the point of the bayonet? What will the free States say hereafter? Never should they open their lips. Europe is up in arms scourging the faint shadow of this peculiar institution from among them and men are upholding this institution in New York who would be driven from Vienna, Berlin, and Milan, as behind the age. Oh, Lucifer, son of the morning, how art thou fallen! This, the model republic! Nail to the pillar the ears of the man, e'itor, or politician, who asks you to vote for any man who is not pledged to the Wilmot proviso. Mr. Stanton concluded a most argumentative and forcible speech, of which this is an imperfect outline, amidst the applause of the meeting.

Dr. F. B. VIONIS, of Lyons, France, who has recently arrived in this country on a philanthropic tour, was then introduced to the audience, and made a brief address, prefaced with an apology for his inability to speak better our language. The substance of his remarks was an argument, that the institution of slavery is against the laws of nature and of civilization. He was persuaded that these were the sentiments of the Provisional Government of France. In the course of his address he made this declaration: "To destroy slavery is to save the United States!" [Applause.] Dr. Vionis, after an animated appeal, said that he would not trespass on the audience to give further expression of his views and feelings, and the intelligent audience would supply what he could say from their own knowledge of the subject and their appreciation of the blessings of freedom.

Another Liberty song was then sung by the "Luca Family," amid the applause of the audience.

The Hon. JOHN P. HALE, one of the Senators in Congress from New Hampshire, and the candidate of the Liberty party for President of the United States, was then introduced to the audience, and proceeded to make a very spirited and acceptable speech, and was applauded on his first appearance, and throughout his address. The following is a sketch of Mr. Hale's remarks :

I have been so much accustomed to address an audience so little sympathizing with my views for some time past, that your kindness is as overpowering as it is strange ; but I beg you to repress any further manifestations of it, at what I am about to say, at least for the present. There is no danger, though, that I shall tell you *flattering* truths. No ! I know of no bright picture to exhibit to you ; I know of nothing but the stern reality of truth—and that reality full of deep and damning disgrace. I was somewhat amused, a short time ago, at one of the concerts of the Hutchinsons, at following the poor wanderer in one of their songs, in search of "Down East." [Laughter.] The poor fellow came here to New York, thinking he had found it at last ; but no ! he soon found he was wrong, and posted off to Boston, with the self-same intent, but with the like want of success ; and, on proceeding from thence to Portland and Bangor, he found that he was still as far off as ever from "Away Down East !" [Laughter.] Such would, in like manner, be the fate of any anxious individual who should set out in search of the American *Government*. "Oh, no !" a hundred voices would say ; "go right on to Washington, and you'll find it there !" I tell you, No ! Washington is the very last place in the Union where I should look to find the American Government. I tell you it is not there. Go to Washington ; while there, go to the White House, and its occupant will tell you that the first and last article of his political creed is to learn, in the first place, the will of his constituents, and in the next place, to do it ! Go thence to the Heads of Department, and you will there be told, that they are the mere servants of the people—that they are not the Government. Go from the Departments to both Houses of Congress, and you are farther off still from your object. Search anywhere there for our government, and I tell you you will not find it ! Where, then, is this much talked of place and power ? this American Government ? Have any of you ever seen it ? Have you ever spoken to it ? Do you know where it lives—where is its habitation ? There is a great, a powerful truth in

the answer to this question. I would ask any individual who wants to find this government—this government whose right hand is red with the blood of war, and whose soul is polluted with the sin of slavery—I would ask that man to retire from the noise and bustle of the world, to go to the privacy of his own chamber, where no eye is on him but that of the All-seeing, and look there into his mirror and behold the man who is responsible for all these things! This is the truth I want to bring home to you. It is the only practical truth in the matter. You talk of government and its duties, and think you have said something true—as if in such a country as this there could be a responsibility anywhere apart from that individual responsibility belonging to every one! And now we know with whom to argue, and where to look for and expect reformation. If this be correct, I think you will agree with me, that we need not go to Washington to look for the “Government.” No! I tell you it is you who are the government. Convert yourselves, and you will soon have a converted Congress. Let the reform begin with the people, and it will soon show its fruits! It is perfectly idle for you, who are the responsible authors of all that your representatives are doing, to complain, to stand with your hands folded and talk about government! You speak, and with great truth, about a want of firmness and stability in your representatives, and you cry, “Oh, you dough-faced representatives!” You say you have a great many. Well, so you have! And why? Why are they dough-faced? Because they have a dough-faced constituency at home! [Applause.] Awake yourselves, be true to the right, be firm, stand up like men, and you’ll have no difficulty with your representatives.

Look back over the history of New York State—and I speak of New York because I am here. I would say the same of New Hampshire, were I there. Look back, I say, and tell me when you have ever had a representative who lost caste and standing at home by bowing ever so low to the detestable power of slavery! I believe, never! [A voice, Never!] It was a Roman rule, that a Roman soldier should fear more the face of his general than the face of his foe. We may gather a hint from this, and see the propriety of making your representatives afraid of you! Make your representatives more afraid of you than their leaders and directors at Washington! Before General Scott went to Mexico, he was much worried about a certain “fire in his rear.” Now, this is just

what you want for your representatives! [Applause.] You want true men; and should any hesitate and fall back, why then there is this fire in the rear to meet them! Let your fire meet them with tenfold the vengeance of that from which they shrank. If you convert Congress, what can it do? Nothing, so long as the people are wrong. I'd rather hear of the conversion of one Baptist church up in the north of New Hampshire, than that of half the Congress. It is the masters who have need of conversion. They would work! This truth ought to be elaborated. But I fear I am wearying you by my remarks on this point. [Cries of "No! no!" "go on!"] I must add, reflection cannot fail to establish the idea that this is an individual matter! I do not offer any new truths. What need of new truths, when the old truth, that all men are equal, lies literally as dead and lifeless in your archives as the parchment on which it is written. Let us work up these old truths, bring them out of their storehouses, and we shall have enough to do.

One word about agitation. Many men have a fear, if anything is to be agitated, and say it had better be let alone. They will come to you and say, "It is all very well, but *don't* agitate!" As if agitation were the bane of civil, and social, and political life. Is this so? Is it true? It is not. Mr. Calhoun said, the other day, that he did not look on it in this light, but that nations are much more apt to die of indifference and stagnation than by agitation. How is it with our own constitution? Is it not kept alive by agitation? What agitator is like the human heart, sending life, by its incessant throbbing, through every portion of the body? When it ceases, death ensues; whenever agitation ceases, stupor, stagnation, putrefaction, death follow! Agitation gives to any system life, health, and vigor. We may find the truth in a Christian illustration. The pool of Siloam had no healing virtues till the angel of God came down and stirred it. May it not be so now? We want a life giving principle stirred in us. I tell you we want more agitators at the North. From the debates in the Senate, you have doubtless, learned there are enough agitators at the South. They are plenty there, and they will keep up the agitation; but we want a little wholesome agitation at the north, so that your representatives may have something to fall back upon *at home!*

I do not say a word about the character of the present government, or about the war have said what I had to say be-

fore this, and everything I have said is faint and feeble, compared with the deep convictions of my understanding and my heart. I believe that the history of this war will mark this age as one of barbarism, and this nation as infamous; and these convictions I shall never part with, until my understanding is otherwise enlightened, or that catastrophe overtakes me with which I have been threatened.

How do we stand among the nations of the earth? The angel of the everlasting Gospel of Peace has gone out among the people, and the slaves of Europe are bursting their chains and rising to be free. The shouts of the regenerated nations of the earth are going up before the throne of the Eternal, and what voice do we send up there? Our shouts go up mingled with the clank of chains, the wail of the bondsmen, the shrieks of the victims of a war waged for the perpetuity of slavery! (Prolonged applause.) That is the position of our nation to-day. That this is the object of the war; no politician dare deny. Go to Washington, to your "seat of Government!" and ask about it. They will not deny it. It has been confessed on the floor of the Senate over and over again. There is a good deal of verbiage and phraseology used to cover it up, but it still stands out in bold relief and cannot be denied. There is not one intelligent man, in fine, who does not know it to be *true*. They feel it, they see it, they know it. If a new revelation were given us, if the finger of a man's hand should write over our wall in living letters, it could not be plainer, except to those who are so deaf that they will not hear, so blind that they will not see!

Where then will you be found in the crisis which is now approaching? The hosts of freedom are arming. The angel of Liberty is marshalling her forces everywhere, and her trumpet voice is summoning us to the battle of the free. Where will you be in this contest, the greatest in which the nations have ever engaged? Will you stand up for freedom where your fathers stood battling for liberty? or will you be hesitating, faltering, lagging behind for fear, for fear that you'll — *split your party!* (Laughter.) That's the whole of it! — that's your difficulty.

I have an appeal to make before I close. I appeal to all, old and young, man, woman, and child; but if there is one class to whom I would appeal it is to those who call themselves the disciples of the Prince of Peace. I charge them most earnestly and affectionately—I appeal to Christians to awake, arouse, and see

to it that they purge themselves of the leaven of oppression. I ask them to see to it that the garments of their priesthood are not stained with the blood of human slavery! When this is done, the work is done. If the free church in the free States will wake up and clear itself, the contest will be half over; this cause would not be left for poor politicians like me to argue. But it is not so to-day! I am speaking at this moment in a Christian city, that daily baptizes this sin in all that it has which is sanctified and holy! Oh that they would awake! So long as they are idle, it is hopeless for us to contend against the wicked, or seek to drive out slavery from the State, if it can always find a refuge and hiding-place behind the sanctuary of the church!

Mr. Hale's remarks were received with loud and long continued applause.

Dr. BAILEY, the editor of the *National Era*, being present, was loudly called for, but he modestly declined responding to the call. At the mention of his name, he was loudly cheered by the audience.

After more music from the Luca children, the resolutions were put and adopted, and the society adjourned, to meet next morning at the Coliseum.

ANNUAL REPORT.

OUR fathers solemnly declared that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men. At the present moment, while the people of Europe are contending for these manifest rights, this country is agitated with the discussion, whether the sublime doctrines of the authors of the Declaration of Independence shall have practical efficacy among their descendants. On one side are arrayed two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, who are permitted to sway the councils of the nation: on the other a band of resolute abolitionists, continually increasing in numbers. With the oppressors there is power, a disregard of the principles upon which our government was established, the lukewarmness of the church, the subserviency of politicians. With the oppressed, are the great truths upon which our institutions are based, the approbation of the wise and good of all countries, the cordial sympathy of the numerous nations now contending for the rights of man, the example of civilized and even of semi-barbarous people, an unyielding determination to "undo the heavy burdens," the requirements of the gospel, and the promises of the living God. In such a contest, what patriot or Christian can doubt the final result? Well may the enslaved say, REJOICE NOT AGAINST ME, O MINE ENEMY: WHEN I FALL I SHALL ARISE; WHEN I SIT IN DARKNESS, THE LORD SHALL BE A LIGHT UNTO ME: and well may the friends of the slave of this age and nation be strengthened in view of the declarations of Holy Writ, THE LORD STANDETH UP TO PLEAD, AND STANDETH TO JUDGE THE PEOPLE. . . FOR THE OPPRESSION OF THE POOR, FOR THE SIGHING OF THE NEEDED, NOW WILL I ARISE, SAITH THE LORD; I WILL SET HIM IN SAFETY FROM HIM THAT PUFFETH AT HIM.

During the past year we have had occasion to lament the death of some of our ablest coadjutors. Among them, were

AMOS A. PHELPS and ORANGE SCOTT, both members of the Executive Committee. They were distinguished for their intelligence, power of accomplishment, zeal, heroism, and perseverance. Their memory is precious to the friends of humanity, and their example worthy of universal imitation. We would also make respectful mention of the eminent statesman, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, who has descended to the tomb full of years and honors. In the midst of unprincipled demagogues and time-serving politicians, he dared to be singular. "Modern degeneracy had not reached him." He lifted up his voice like a trumpet in the hall of legislation, in the court of justice, and on all fit occasions, in behalf of his countrymen in chains, and in defence of the rights of man.

The Executive Committee, have the pleasure to state that the *National Era*, at Washington, has been, all things considered, well sustained, and has done great service to the cause. At the commencement of its second volume, it was deemed best to transfer the proprietorship of the paper to Dr. Bailey, the editor. This was done with a confident hope that the *Era* would continue to receive the liberal patronage of anti-slavery men.

The Office and Depository of the Society, have been removed to more commodious apartments.* A very full variety of anti-slavery books, pamphlets, engravings, etc., is kept for sale. Connected with the Depository, is an Anti-Slavery Reading Room, where about one hundred newspapers are received, regularly filled, and free to all.

Large editions of anti-slavery books and pamphlets have been published by the Society during the past year, and sundry able works on kindred subjects, have appeared in different parts of the Union. Among the publications of the Society, are Phelps's letters to Doctors Stowe and Bacon, on "God's real method with great social wrongs, in which the Bible is vindicated from grossly erroneous interpretations;" "Slaveholding examined in the light of the Holy Bible," by Dr. Brisbane; "A Scriptural Argument in favor of withdrawing fellowship from churches and ecclesiastical bodies tolerating slaveholding among them," by Rev. Silas McKen; "A Letter to the Right Rev. L. Silliman Ives," by Judge Jay; an Almanac for 1843, etc. Mr. Phelps's Letters were revised by the dying hand of the author, and are his legacy to the anti-slavery cause.

Other works are in press, and the Committee hope to be sustained by the friends of the cause throughout the country, in their efforts to accomplish the plans heretofore announced, and to the support of which, so many have pledged their aid. The Committee are particularly desirous of publishing a work on the Slave Laws of the several States and Territories, now in force, with a Digest of decisions by the State and Territorial courts in cases under these "black laws." Such a work would be exceedingly valuable, not only to the friends of human rights, but to lawyers and statesmen. A work of this description is now in a state of preparation by a lawyer in the District of Columbia. It is proposed to publish it in the first place, as a law book, in three volumes, and afterwards to publish an abridgment for general use. The expense will be heavy, but the Committee will lose no time, after the funds are furnished, in issuing the work.

Attempts have been made in this country as well as in England, to prove that the emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies has had a disastrous effect upon the prosperity of those islands. The reverse of this is true, as can be clearly shown. The *Jamaica Times* has published a table of the exports from the island, from October 10, 1846, to October 10, 1847, from which we learn that the crop of sugar in that year was about the same as it was in 1845, viz.: 45,000 hogsheads. This is the largest crop since 1842, when the quantity exported exceeded, by 5,000 hogsheads, the crop of 1847. There has been a gradual increase in coffee during the last three years, although the crop is not equal to that of 1843. Still, a great outcry has been made by disaffected and avaricious planters, and by the enemies of emancipation in England and this country, on account of the evils existing in Jamaica; and they are endeavoring to convince the world that ruin, consequent upon emancipation, stares the colonists in the face. The Kingston (Jamaica) Chamber of Commerce has called attention to "the frightful position of the affairs of the island, both agricultural and commercial;" and the Jamaica House of Assembly have passed resolutions affirming that "the pittance" of £20,000,000 sterling—one hundred million dollars—received from the British government, has been expended by the planters to keep up the cultivation of their estates.

These outcries are a repetition of the annual lamentations of the Jamaica planters. As early as 1750, they complained of severe distress. In the most prosperous days of slavery and

the slave-trade, their condition was evidently worse than it is now. Whatever lack of prosperity there may be in the present state of Jamaica, is plainly attributable to other causes than emancipation. The principal one is "the want of capital and the skill to apply it." The free-trade policy, also, under which Cuban and Brazilian sugars are admitted into British ports on equal terms with colonial sugar, by depreciating the price of the latter, is another cause of the distress of which the Jamaica planters now complain.

The following extracts from the examination of George Price, Esq., of the Parish of St. John, before the committee appointed to inquire into the present state of the agricultural interests of the Island of Jamaica, November 20, 1845, will show the beneficial results of emancipation, in a clear point of view: "The average expense of clearing an acre of plants in this district (parish of St. Thomas) where vegetation is very rapid, is twelve shillings per acre each clearing, which is one-third cheaper than was paid in slavery time to a job master for the same quantity of work." Again: "We estimate the cost for making one ton of sugar, from the cutting to the curing-hour, at forty shillings, and I expect to make it shortly at thirty shillings. These are the expenses incurred in sugar-making seasons. I look forward to being able to raise sugar at ten shillings per cwt., including every expense, and put on board ship." Again: "I calculated the expense that was incurred by the slave-holder, and estimated that if I could effect the same purpose by an investment even to an equal amount in value of slaves, in simple machinery, subject to very trifling wear and tear, I should always be able to produce sugar cheaper than the slaveholder could."

This question was put to Mr. Price: "Would you ascribe the failure of crops of late years to any, and which, of the following causes, to wit: Actual deficiency of available labor—adverse seasons—want of proper arrangements to meet the change from slavery to freedom, or a want of capital to carry on cultivation efficiently?" He replied: "I should attribute it solely to the want of capital to carry on cultivation sufficiently. If, immediately after emancipation, a certain proportion of the compensation money, which was withdrawn totally from the country, had been fixed in permanent improvements, such as irrigation, to obviate the difficulty of adverse seasons, to provide proper machinery as a substitute for the labor which was withdrawn, and money had been regularly provided for the

payment of the laborers, the failure of the crops referred to would not have taken place." The croaking, then, that we hear in this country and elsewhere about the disastrous effects of emancipation in the West Indies, arises from the impolitic legislation of Parliament, the unwise proceedings of the planters, and the cultivation of the soil by the emancipated for their own benefit.

The late Mr. Phelps, while in Jamaica, wrote that, in order to work out the results of freedom advantageously, it was necessary to deal with the emancipated people *AS MEN*—not as ser-viles—aiming to make them a New England farming population. "To this end, the first great thing is, to have the people become the *proprietors of the soil*—to buy the land, wherever they can, in little properties of their own, put up small houses, and get other comforts around them. Nothing will give them a feeling of independence, and make them act like men, sooner than this."

In discussing the question of West India emancipation, the effect of that measure upon the interests of the planters, is, as a general thing, alone considered, while its influence upon the condition of the emancipated people is almost wholly overlooked. The Jamaica planters themselves, in detailing the "wrongs" which have been done them by the legislation of Parliament, enumerate the abolition of the slave trade as the first, and the act of emancipation as the last, by which, they say, "all that is dear and sacred to man in his social character has been placed in imminent danger!" If the act of emancipation is tested by the amount of sugar which the colonial planters are able to export, it may be regarded as a failure, but if tested by its influence upon the character and condition of the emancipated classes, it must be confessed to have been eminently successful. Their physical improvement, their moral progress, their advancement in intelligence, respectability, and wealth has been as rapid as the friends of freedom could have reasonably anticipated.

We regret to say that the Slave Trade, instead of diminishing, has greatly increased. This increase is attributed by the Abolitionists of England to the Sugar Act of 1846, which permits the slave grown sugars of Brazil and Cuba to enter the British markets, for home consumption, on equal terms with the sugars of the British colonies, thus reducing the price of the latter. This bears heavily upon the Planters of Jamaica. The adoption of the measure was received with exultation in Cuba

and Brazil; slaves rose in value—additional capital was invested in estates cultivated by them—and the Slave Trade received a new impulse. The British Government justifies the act because it is in conformity with the free trade system, while the friends of the slave, though generally friendly to that system, contend that an exception should be made to this policy in favor of the British Colonies, until affairs can be adjusted to the state of things resulting from emancipation. A great stimulus has been given to the cultivation of sugar in Brazil and Cuba—the speculation in “the blood and sinews” of the African is revived—and consequently the number of slaves imported into the Brazilian Empire alone, in 1847, was upwards of 72,000, being an increase of about 15,000 over the previous year. The exportation of sugar from Cuba to British ports, in 1846, was 66,764 boxes, while in 1847, under the influence of the new act, the number of boxes swelled to 164,290; an increase of about 250 per cent. ! While the price of colonial sugar has fallen from 30 to 50 per cent., that of slave-grown produce has increased in as great a ratio.

Stephen Cliffe, M. D., a native of the United States, but for some years a subject of the Brazilian Emperor, who was lately examined before the British House of Commons, gave it as his decided opinion that the diminution of the duty on slave-grown sugars, by the act of 1846, had greatly increased the cultivation of sugar in Brazil, and given a powerful stimulus to the slave-trade. Dr. Cliffe is the proprietor of certain diamond mines in Brazil, owns about an hundred slaves, and is desirous of increasing his stock. He unblushingly advocated slavery and the slave-trade, and admitted the horrible cruelty practised upon its hapless victims, while he gave in testimony much valuable statistical information. He testified that of the 72,000 slaves landed in Brazil, during the past year, not more than 65,000 lived to be sold. In a vessel belonging to “a friend of his,” only 10 out of 160 lived ! “When landed,” said he, “they looked horribly.” “Their systems suffer so much from the shock of coming over,” continued he, “that many of them die. I have known thirty leave the coast, go twenty miles up into the interior, and fifteen have died; and I have known 160 landed, and 84 of them have died before they got into the interior. They were in such a dilapidated condition, nature was completely overcome by the passage.” He testified that on the slave-ships the slaves are placed upon their sides parallel to each other; that sometimes they are jammed more compactly

together by the sailors jumping upon them ; and that they try to keep them in this position during the voyage, which lasts from twenty to ninety days. Some of the American vessels, he said, were only six feet between decks, and that within this narrow space three tiers of slaves were crowded. He had known as many as 350 crammed into a ninety tons schooner ! They suffer extremely for want of water, with which they are supplied once a day, if the voyage is not too protracted. " In a state of inactivity," we use his own words, " you may exist upon that for twenty days, perhaps, as I know from my own experience ; but not much longer than twenty days, because the system fails rapidly after that. It is too horrible to describe the want of water ; no person can have any idea of it without feeling it." This is the evidence of one who has been engaged in the Slave Trade, who approves of it, and who described the terrible sufferings to which the slaves are subjected, with but a solitary and slight expression of feeling, and then because he had himself experienced a part of the agony which they are constrained to endure. This monster of iniquity unblushingly confesses that, for the sake of gain, he does not hesitate to inflict these sufferings upon his fellow-creatures.

The Brazilians resort to the Slave Trade for laborers to cultivate the immense extent of unoccupied and fertile land in that country ; and the slave-holders of Cuba rely upon it to keep up their stock of slaves, as the labor exacted from field-hands, in that island, is so severe that five years, on an average, wears them out ! To illustrate further the unparalleled cruelty of those engaged in this trade, we quote the following extract from a letter written at Kingston, in February last, by a Baptist Missionary in Jamaica :—

" In one instance the officers imagined that the slaves were contemplating a mutiny, and they ordered the crew to open the gratings and fire indiscriminately among them. In another, under like circumstances, the men were ordered to pull up the slaves that were nearest the hatches and hang them at the yard-arm ; and not only this, the inhuman monsters directed that their feet be cut off at the ankles, for the purpose of pelting those who were below ! In another case, the prisoners complained that they were dying from suffocation, and that the dead were companioned with the living, some holding the dead locked in their arms. The wail of the father for his child was unnoticed ; the mother's grief was treated with contempt, until the clamor became so loud that something must be done to still their cries ; and then they were taken one after another, the living and the dead, and thrown into the sea, until the disturbance was quelled."

For a long time we have believed that the British cruising system, for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the coast of Africa, has greatly increased the cruelties connected with it, without diminishing the nefarious traffic. Such was the opinion of the late Rev. William Raymond, missionary at Kaw-Mendi, some forty or fifty miles in the interior of West Africa, who resided there six years, and under whose peaceful instructions and influence the internal Slave Trade had, according to the testimony of an English missionary at Sierra Leone, been nearly or quite abolished throughout the whole of the Sherbro country. It was his opinion that a body of merchants, mechanics, and agriculturists, doing business in the interior and on the coast of Africa, on Christian principles, would accomplish more for the annihilation of the Slave Trade in Africa, foreign and domestic, than could be effected by all the fleets and armies in the world. These, in connexion with devoted missionaries and teachers, would cause wars to cease in that benighted land, the traffickers in human beings from civilized countries to be looked upon with horror, and civilization and Christianity to have their legitimate influence. We deem all other schemes of colonization to be contrary to the genius of our holy religion, unworthy of men calling themselves philanthropists, and that the emigration of masses of uneducated and irreligious men (under the pretence of civilizing and christianizing Africa), from a country calling itself christian, is absurd and injurious.

To the shame and reproach of this country, the Slave Trade is carried on by many of its citizens, and slavery, the parent of this nefarious traffic, is also encouraged by some of the inhabitants of our free states. New England men own plantations at the south and in Cuba; slave-ships of the most finished models are built at Baltimore, and some of the best vessels of their class are frequently purchased by American citizens in other ports, and employed in the Slave Trade. So long as slavery exists in the United States, so long as slaves are raised for sale, sold at Washington, Richmond, &c., at public auction—bought and sold by members of Congress, Ministers of the Gospel, and others, the foreign Slave Trade will not cease. There will be thousands who will not see the difference in ethics that is made on the statute-book between the foreign and domestic Slave Trade. The law indeed pronounces the former "piracy," and affixes the penalty of death to all convicted of the crime, but law-makers are among the number that carry on similar piracy on

land with impunity ! The consequence is, a just abhorrence of the slave-trade is not felt throughout the country, there are few convictions of the legal offence, and felons too easily escape the penalty of the law when they happen to be convicted. How can it be otherwise, when so many of our judges are slave-holders, and when the Executive, the pardoning-power, is also a slave-holder ? What moral difference is there between buying and selling men women, and children in the slave states, in carrying on the inter-state slave trade, and going to the coast of Africa to purchase cargoes of human beings for sale ? None whatever ; and it is time such a conviction was fastened upon the minds of our countrymen, and that the law of God was universally allowed to be paramount to human laws. The law made by slave-holders establishes a difference ; but the law of God pronounces both—**MEN-STEALING**—and worthy of death. *He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death.**

Article 10th of the treaty of Ghent between the United States and Great Britain, is as follows : “Whereas the **TRAFFIC IN SLAVES** is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both his Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavors to accomplish so desirable an object.” England—to her praise be it said—has fulfilled her agreement. But what has this country done to abolish the “traffic in slaves ?” What has Congress done to put an end to it in the district of Columbia ? Instead of abolishing the traffic, this country has annexed Texas, under the pretence that Great Britain was seeking to influence that country to bring slavery to an end ; and for the evident purpose of strengthening and extending slavery, and consequently the “traffic in slaves.” This is the way in which this Model Republic fulfils its treaties with the monarchical governments of Europe, and writes its own annals on the page of history !

A highly respectable portion of anti-slavery people in England and the United States have associated to promote the use, exclusively, or to as great an extent as practicable, of free-labor products, and by this means lessen the value of slave-grown articles, and bring about the extinction of slavery. It is obvious, that if the total disuse of slave-producing articles can be brought about, an effectual blow would be struck not only

against the slave-trade, but slavery. The friends of human rights in this and other countries should be ready to co-operate in promoting the growth and consumption of free cotton and other products, and give a preference to them over the products of slave labor. A store has been opened in this city for the sale of articles the result of free labor, at No. 377 Pearl street, by Lindley Murray Hoag and George Wood. We are assured that they are men of upright character, who will scrupulously investigate the sources of supply. In this connexion, it will be gratifying to all the friends of human rights to know that it is ascertained that no inconsiderable number of persons are, from conscientious motives, turning their attention to the growth of free-labor cotton in the slave states, and to its manufacture and consumption in the free states.

The British *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for January gives the following brief summary of the progress of the cause, in various parts of the world, during the year that had closed :—

“ The events of a cheering nature which have transpired during the past year, are the final abolition of slavery in the Swedish Colony of St. Bartholomew. The number of slaves emancipated is comparatively few, probably not one thousand ; yet the principle of the inviolability of human freedom has been acknowledged by a sovereign state ; and a new example given to other Powers, who yet permit any portion of their subjects to bear the yoke of oppression, to go and do likewise. The King of Denmark, in conjunction with the States of his kingdom, has also decreed the abolition of slavery, though in the case of all slaves born before the 28th July, 1847, the time of emancipation is delayed, to the corresponding date in the year 1859. In the meantime, all children born of slave parents are declared to be free. It is impossible to say how many slaves may then be alive to enjoy the blessing of liberty. The number estimated to be now in the Danish Colonies is about 25,000. To the honor of the Queen of Denmark, it must be recorded, that she has greatly assisted in bringing about this happy result. Nor, whilst Christian princes have thus shown respect to the inherent rights of their fellow men, have Mohammedan and Hindoo chiefs, been unwilling to recognise them also. The Rajpoot and other States in the East have abolished slavery and the slave-trade in their respective territories ; and the kingdom of Lahore has issued decrees to the same effect, through the several provinces subjected to its sway.

“ Slavery is approaching the period of its complete extinction in Peru. By an article in its constitution, all children born of slaves since the year 1820 are declared free ; and every slave imported from a foreign state, is also declared free the moment he touches the soil of that country. The slaves in the State of New Granada, it is expected, will be completely emancipated on the 1st of January, 1850. In the meantime, every slave introduced into that Republic is declared to be free.”

These events are full of encouragement, and have been followed by others of a still more cheering nature.

In Holland the abolitionists are actively engaged in the furtherance of the cause, and the King, it is believed, regards their efforts with favor.

Dr. F. W. CAROVÉ, one of the corresponding members of our Executive Committee, who has been in this country, and whose excellent Address on American Slavery was circulated among our German population a year or two since, is engaged with Gagern, Professor Welcker, and other distinguished men, in organizing a German Society for the abolition of slavery. A Provisional Committee has been constituted, and an eloquent address to the German people has been published. This great movement, it is hoped, will operate beneficially in Germany, and also in this country through its influence upon our numerous German population.

But the great event in the history of the anti-slavery cause, during the past year, is the decree for the abolition of slavery in all the French colonies and dependencies. The Provisional Government of France, organized after the late revolution, declared, in accordance with their republican watch-word,—“*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*,”—“no French land should any longer bear slaves,” and directed the Minister of Marine and the Colonies “to prepare, as quickly as possible, the *Act of immediate emancipation in all the Colonies of the Republic*.” The Committee appointed by him to draft this act is composed of men who have labored long and earnestly for the abolition of slavery by the French Government.

On the promulgation of the noble decree of emancipation, the colored people sent a deputation to express their gratitude to the Provisional Government. M. Crémieux, a member of the Government, replied to their address in the following terms:

“Dear fellow-citizens, friends, brothers: I am happy to hail you in the name of the Provisional Government of the Republic, every part of which has entertained the great thought of emancipating such of your fellow-countrymen as still remain in slavery. Slavery, slavery, in the midst of liberty! Why, this is the most odious, the most afflicting inconsistency. Distinctions between men! This is a violation of the law of both God and man. We have only proclaimed the principles which dwell in the hearts of all mankind. Yes, the National Convention—that grand, that immortal assembly, had restored you all to freedom; but the error of a great man again placed you under the yoke which you had believed was broken for ever. You, who, having been slaves, had become freemen,

rendered to the liberty which had been restored such great and important services—you, yourselves, were cast back into servitude! The new Republic will accomplish what the Republic of 1792 proclaimed. You shall again become free. There shall no longer be a slave on the soil of liberty. In our colonies, as well as in Continental France, every man who inhabits the land shall be free. You will prove yourselves worthy of it, for you ever have been so. And when slavery shall have disappeared, our descendants will exclaim with pride—it was to the Revolution of 1848 that the final abolition of slavery was due. *Vive la République!*"

And M. Lamartine, the head of the Provisional Government, in reply to a deputation from the London Peace Society, who expressed a wish for the complete abolition of slavery, said :

"We should have believed that we had gained a selfish liberty, a guilty liberty, if we had maintained the benefits of it for ourselves alone. We therefore hastened to proclaim the freedom of all our brethren, and we congratulate ourselves on being, in this respect, in harmony with the noble sentiments of England, which a long time ago freed the black race in her colonies. As soon as the National Assembly shall meet, it will proclaim the principles which we ourselves proclaimed after our glorious revolution."

M. Arago, the Minister of Marine, at a private interview with Messrs. Sturge and Alexander, of London, gave the strongest assurances of the determination of the Government to abolish slavery at once. By this act about 250,000 slaves will be made freemen.

The great revolution in public sentiment on the subject of slavery, was brought about, under Providence, by the French Abolition Society, composed of some of the most influential men in the kingdom, aided by many philanthropic individuals whose zeal had been untiring, and by the ladies of Paris, who petitioned the Chamber of Deputies in behalf of their sisters in bondage. And these philanthropic persons had been enlightened and aided essentially by members of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, their intelligent and indefatigable Secretary,* and by the abolitionists of this country.

The example of France has had an electrical influence on several other European states, and we fervently hope that every government that holds slaves, will emulate the noble example set them, by emancipating all persons held in any of their de-

* John Scoble, Esq.

pendencies in involuntary servitude. The following extract of a late letter from Mr. Scoble,—gives the latest intelligence we have received of the movements above alluded to.

The system of serfage, that near approach to slavery, so prevalent in Northern Europe, has received its death-blow. In Hungary, it has been unanimously abolished, without compensation to the seigneurs. In all other provinces in Austria it will soon follow the same fate. In all the possessions which have been or may be recovered by the Poles, serfage is to be declared unlawful. A distinguished noble has announced his intention of giving to 10,000 of his people in Prussian Poland, in addition to their liberty, as much land, from his vast domains, as they can cultivate. In Russia, at least those parts bordering on Austria and Prussia, there is a movement among the seigneurs to free their serfs. The Czar himself is bidding for popularity among that class of his subjects, by declaring them capable of purchasing the lands of their lords, when put up for sale or confiscated to the State.

M. Scoble, in communicating these important facts to the Corresponding Secretary, says: "When shall a similar generous movement characterize the freemen of the United States? Shall slavery remain a blot and dishonor on American citizens, when the despots of Europe can no longer preserve its image? Oh! let there be a grand effort, a united effort, a prayerful effort, a persevering effort, to root out this accursed system from your otherwise noble institutions, that the reproach of the nations, and the curse of outraged and oppressed humanity, may not continue to rest upon you. The Christians of America can put an end to slavery when they will it; but if they will not engage in the holy work, God will assuredly raise up other instruments to effect it. My desire and prayer is that, in America, as elsewhere, it may be peacefully extinguished, and not that it may terminate in blood."

To the slaveholding portion of the United States, and their obsequious political friends, alone attaches the shame of being unfriendly to the emancipation of the slaves in the French colonies. This is evinced by the conduct of American slaveholders abroad as well as at home. The address of the American citizens in Paris, congratulating the Provisional Government on their successful revolution, originally contained the following sentence: "The great principles of liberty and equality *for all men* have been the basis on which depended your recent struggle." But, at the instance of one of their number, a slave-

holder, the words "for all men" were erased! Thus it is that Americans abroad, follow in the wake of too many of their countrymen at home in succumbing to the arrogant dictates of the slaveocracy.

Even in the Senate of the United States, Northern men unhesitatingly bow down to "the dark spirit of Slavery," and allow their manhood and independence to be ground in the dust under the wheels of this American Juggernaut. On the reception of the news of the wonderful revolution in France, the Senate with great promptness adopted congratulatory resolutions, which are now wafted across the Atlantic, that in "the name and behalf of the American people, the congratulations of Congress are hereby tendered to the people of France, upon the success of their recent efforts to consolidate the principles of liberty in a republican form of government." Mr. Senator Hale moved an amendment, as follows: "evinced their sincerity by the abolition of slavery in their colonies." This amendment was rejected by a vote of 1 yea to 28 nays, a considerable number of Senators dodging the question. The Provisional Government of France, will doubtless rightly estimate the value of congratulatory resolutions passed under such circumstances.

A similar amendment was also rejected in the House, Southern members protesting that they must vote against any resolutions of congratulation containing such a clause. Yet, notwithstanding these humiliating facts, a majority of the American people, it is believed, heartily approve of the French decree of emancipation; and if they would throw off the shackles of party, become either "independent democrats" or "conscience whigs"—especially, if they would, as in France, enrol themselves as members of a great national Liberty party, unqualified resolutions approving of the act of the Provisional Government of France would be adopted with enthusiasm by a vast portion of the people of this country. As evidence of the truth of this, we take pleasure in recording that at very large meetings of the citizens of Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Rochester, and Chicago,* resolutions expressive of gratification at the abo-

* At the meeting in Rochester, at which above 6000 persons were present—the Mayor in the chair—the following resolution, among others, was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That by decreeing the abolition of Negro Slavery, France has covered herself with higher honors than war could give. The triumph of

lition of slavery in the French colonies, and of a desire for the speedy abolition of slavery in this country were proposed and adopted by acclamation.

In reviewing the history of the past year, we find abundant evidences of the rapid progress of anti-slavery sentiments in this country; but our limits preclude us from noticing more than a few of them. Adverse events, it is true, have occurred, but we cannot, on the whole, feel otherwise than greatly encouraged. Throughout the North, and in several of the Southern States, the question of slavery has been freely discussed, and it has been gratifying to perceive that the institution has found fewer defenders and met with wider and more determined opposition than at any previous period.

In Kentucky, "*The Examiner*," a weekly newspaper, advocating the duty and advantages of emancipation, was established at Louisville, in June last. It is edited by John C. Vaughan, a native of South Carolina, and has been conducted with ability and judgment. It is justly entitled to the support of the friends of liberty. Mr. Vaughan, converted to the cause through the instrumentality of the Anti-Slavery press, has entered heartily into the work, and is exerting a powerful influence in behalf of emancipation in Kentucky. Every number of his paper gives new proofs of the rapid spread of anti-slavery views in

justice over wrong is the greatest which it is permitted to men or nations to achieve."

At a very large meeting, preliminary to the above, held at the Court-house in Rochester, Frederick Douglass, the eloquent fugitive slave, was twice called to the stand, and, says the Rochester Democrat, "spoke at considerable length, to the great gratification of the people assembled, who frequently interrupted him with cheers and applause."

The following are among the resolutions adopted at the Cincinnati meeting:

"*Resolved*, That we regard the decree of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, declaring the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves in its colonies, as a noble proof of the sincerity of the French people, especially deserving the admiration and gratitude of all lovers of liberty."

"*Resolved*, That as friends of universal liberty, we hail with satisfaction the destruction of the unequal classes of society in France, and the emancipation of all slaves under her dominion; and that we hope that the time is not far distant, when our own country will imitate her glorious example."

At Philadelphia the people of color had a stand on Independence Square, while the white inhabitants had theirs near by, and the orators on the former were surrounded with a mixed throng, who applauded them with as much enthusiasm as the rest of the vast assemblage applauded the other speakers.

that State. We learn from the Examiner that the last Legislature of Kentucky "was bolder in its speech on anti-slavery subjects; more downright and outright in its denunciations of the accursed slave trade, in all its forms, than any legislature which has assembled since 1832." Those who had previously been the strongest pro-slavery men, and in favor of the perpetual existence of slavery, declared that institution to be the foulest blot on the face of the South, and that it ought to be wiped out. Not a single member defended the traffic in human beings.

At a very large political meeting recently held in Louisville, Mr. Thurston, a distinguished lawyer, made a strong anti-slavery speech. He said he deplored the existence of slavery, and he hoped to see the day when the "curse" should be rooted from the State. He was heartily cheered by the audience. It is not improbable that the Convention to amend the Constitution of Kentucky will provide for the extinction of slavery.

The suit at law, instituted by Cassius M. Clay, against Thomas H. Waters and James B. Clay,* for the destruction of the printing establishment of the *True American*, at Lexington, Kentucky, has resulted in a verdict in favor of the plaintiff for \$2,500. "Thus has a Kentucky court vindicated the unrestrained liberty of the press, as guaranteed by the Constitution."

In Western Virginia there is much anti-slavery feeling, which is rapidly spreading. Dr. Ruffner, President of Washington College, has advocated emancipation at a public meeting, and has published a series of able essays on the subject, in a Virginia newspaper.

The *Weekly Herald*, of Wellsburgh, Va., has also opened its columns to the discussion of slavery, and declares that Virginia is destined to be a free State, and the sooner the better. Citizens of Virginia have even petitioned Congress to take measures for the abolition of slavery, but the petition, on motion of their own Senator, was laid on the table!

The cause of freedom is also advancing in Maryland. A citizen of Baltimore, in a letter published in a late number of the *National Era*, says:

"I venture to say that the change of sentiment in this city (Baltimore) within the last twenty years has been so great that in 1828, the person who would have made the prediction that in 1848 we would have

*Son of Henry Clay.

Abolition papers, books, debates, lectures in public, and free, impassioned conversations in the social circle, such a person would have been universally scouted as a madman in this community."

The last yearly meeting of Friends, in Baltimore, directed the members of the Society to educate the free people of color, and they have accordingly memorialized the Virginia Legislature (most of them being residents of that State) for permission to do so.

At a meeting in Cecil County, Maryland, in September, the following resolutions were adopted in regard to slavery :

" *Resolved*, That the time has come when our sectional jealousies and differences should be forgotten in an earnest and persevering effort to rid not only Maryland, but the country at large, of this moral and social evil.

" *Resolved*, That we are determined that our sanction shall never be given to the further extension of slavery, feeling, as we do, that having allowed it the constitutional guaranty within its present limits, we have done all that can be fairly asked of us as lovers of truth and justice, or as true patriots."

At another meeting in the same county, the following was adopted :

" *Resolved*, That we believe that not only the physical, but the moral interests of Maryland, demand that slavery shall cease within her borders—resting, as it does, like an incubus upon her body social, while blasting, as if with a general mildew, the fruits of her beautiful and naturally productive soil, and drying up, as with a rushing wind, the fountains of truth and justice."

A newspaper devoted to emancipation, and entitled "The Delaware Abolitionist," has been commenced in Delaware, and is commended to the support of the friends of liberty. From it we learn that the subject of emancipation has been publicly discussed in that state by a citizen of Maryland and other persons ; and that the fourth annual meeting of the *Delaware Anti-Slavery Society* was held last February, at which a committee was appointed to draft an address to the people and a memorial to the Legislature for the passage of a law to secure the removal of slavery from the state, and a memorial to Congress recommending the application of the principles of the Wilmot Proviso to all territory that the nation may hereafter acquire. The following preamble and resolutions, adopted by the Legislature of Delaware, February 28, 1848, are of so much importance, in view of the source from which they emanate, that we quote them entire :—

"Whereas a crisis has arrived in the public affairs of this nation, which requires the full and free expression of the people through their legal representatives; and whereas the United States is at war with a sister republic, occasioned by the annexation of Texas, with the view to the addition of slave territory to our country, and the extension of the slave power in our Union; and whereas, in the opinion of this General Assembly, such acquisitions are hostile to the spirit of our free institutions, and contrary to sound morality: Therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware in General Assembly met, That our Senators and Representative in Congress are hereby requested to vote against the annexation of any new territory which shall not thereafter be for ever free from slavery.

"Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolution be transmitted to our Senators and Representative in Congress. Adopted at Dover, Feb. 25, 1848."

A leading Delaware paper says, these resolutions embody the sentiments of a majority of the people of that state—that Delaware, although a slave state, is fully sensible of the evils of slavery, and opposes any addition to the slave power from motives of humanity as well as policy.

In the District of Columbia the cause has made rapid progress. Mr. Whittier, who lately visited Washington, says, "The change in public sentiment since my visit three years since is remarkable. The Era has wrought a moral miracle." Recently an attempt was made, by some thousands of infuriated men, to destroy the printing establishment of the National Era; but the intrepidity of the editor, the firmness of the police, the declaration of the President of the United States that he would sustain the authorities in any measures they might deem necessary for the preservation of the peace, the influence of the press, and of the most respectable inhabitants were the means, under God, of preserving the office from destruction. The freedom of the press has thus been fairly sustained in the capital of this nation, as it has been secured in the capital of France, and the friends of progress and emancipation in this country will naturally expect that the cause will henceforth be advocated with increased power and with still greater success.

The "Hutchinson Family" of vocalists, celebrated alike for the sweetness of their singing and for the high moral and reformatory character of many of their songs, have lately given a series of concerts in Baltimore and Washington; and although they sang their anti-slavery songs before audiences composed in part of slave-holders—songs which but a few years ago northern mobs had menaced them with death for singing—they were received with much favor, and were invited to go still farther

south.* The singing of these minstrels is effecting much for the cause of emancipation. "*Holy Freedom*," "*The Liberty Ball*," "*The Slave's Appeal*," "*Ho! the car of Emancipation*," and "*There's a good time coming*," are now sounded in the ears of the nation, as a fitting ally to the arguments urged upon the people in favor of the righteousness of impartial liberty.

Thus it will be seen that in the slave states, and in the national metropolis, anti-slavery sentiment has rapid growth. Slavery is acknowledged, even there, to be a violation of men's rights and rebellion against God. It is also found to be ruinous to the morals and injurious to the interests of the people. Confessions to this effect are multiplying. While the southern aristocracy, the slave-holding despots of the nation—exclaim against the rising spirit of justice at the south, and assert that liberty-men run mad at the north, more considerate southerners confess the weakness, sterility, and ruin that follow in the train of slavery, and a few acknowledge, as did Jefferson, that the Almighty has no attribute that can take side with oppression. A paper at the south complains as follows: "Our merchants are going away, our young men and men of capital are leaving us, and the day of our prosperity is passed." The *Savannah Republican* points to slaves, "that fearfully large class of improvident consumers," as the cause of the decay of southern cities, and the downward tendency of things in the southern states. One of the ablest men in Georgia goes so far as to say, "Georgia cannot be the state she ought to be until labor is estimated honorable by all classes, and made the characteristic of every freeman." And in a published letter from Georgia the writer complains, with how much reason he does not say, that "almost the whole enlightened world takes us to be a band of cut-throats, robbers, and tyrants." At the same time there are those at the south who begin to speak justly, and without fear, of northern abolitionists. A southern Kentuckian has publicly stated, that "no one desires to come between the master and the slaves," and therefore justifies the discussion of the slavery question both in the free and slave states. A distinguished lawyer of Louisiana, who is also a slave-holder, after visiting the north, avowed that all the doctrines of the abo-

* After singing the song on "Emancipation" there was, we learn, some hissing, but it was soon drowned in the general cheering and applause of the audience.

litionists were founded in reason, justice, humanity, and wisdom, that a family could not be raised among slaves without being ruined, that he would be rid of the curse of slavery even if he had to leave his state. He solicited a set of anti-slavery publications to take to the south, saying that others besides himself would read them. The agent of the Wesleyan Methodists in this city has also received orders, from North Carolina, for several boxes of anti-slavery books, which have been sent.

The number of acts of emancipation by individual slaveholders has considerably increased during the past year, evincing that the consciences of slave-holders have been affected in an unusual degree by anti-slavery discussion, and that the absurd scheme of colonizing people of color to Africa, without reference to their moral fitness to benefit it, but chiefly to get rid of them, is fast losing its hold upon the feelings even of slave-holders. Among the many cases which have fallen under our notice we may mention the following. Colonel James Epes, of Dinwiddie county, Virginia, emancipated by will over forty slaves, who were sent to Ohio, with agricultural implements, household furniture, &c., where provision had been made for their settling. "With a view to prevent the separation of families," says a Virginia correspondent of a southern paper, "several gentlemen, owning, for instance, a father or mother, had generously liberated such, that they might accompany their families." A late number of the Lynchburg Virginian says that Captain John Warwick, of Amherst county, Va., had manumitted by his will all his slaves, numbering between 70 and 80, and made ample provision for their settlement in one of the western states. A colored woman, with her twelve children, was lately emancipated in Augusta, Ga., by an old gentleman, who also bequeathed them between forty and fifty thousand dollars. At one sitting of the court of the second municipality, in New Orleans, no less than seventeen petitions for the emancipation of twenty-two slaves were presented. In most cases they were favorably reported on and the slaves liberated.

The progress of the anti-slavery cause in the free States the past year, has exceeded the highest expectations of the friends of freedom. Numerous ecclesiastical bodies have borne testimony against American slavery, though many others, but with less success than in former years, have endeavored to suppress any action upon the subject. Still the question of slavery has been agitated and discussed far more than heretofore, and those bodies which have acted upon the subject, have used more

pointed and decisive language than heretofore. The last meeting of the American Unitarian Association declared slaveholding to be "in direct opposition to the law and will of God, entirely incompatible with the precepts and spirit of Christianity, and wholly at variance with a Christian profession."

The *Morning Star*, the organ of the Free Will Baptists, of March 8th, contains a "Protest and Declaration of sentiments on the subject of slavery, published the previous year with the signatures of 296 ministers of that denomination, and now republished with the names of 616. This great increase of zeal and fidelity may be in part attributed, we presume, to the preaching of the Rev. Dr. Burns of England, who on a late visit to this country with his respectable coadjutor, acted in reference to slavery, with a spirit of independence and faithfulness we have not always seen in delegates from ecclesiastical bodies visiting this country from Great Britain. The Protest above named, pronounces slavery to be "a direct violation of the law of Benevolence, and the obligations enforced by our religion; setting aside necessarily, that great fundamental principle of Equality, which is necessary to the happiness of all human society; trampling under foot those relations on which every social privilege and enjoyment is based; sustaining and encouraging War, Licentiousness, Gambling, Sabbath-breaking, Profanity, and almost every sin with which our land is cursed; preventing not only the influence but the preaching of the Gospel, and the promulgation of the truths of the Bible; withholding from almost one-sixth of our entire population even the instruction necessary to a knowledge of the plan of salvation." They do not stop with this declaration, but resolve to treat slavery as a sin of such magnitude deserves. They express a determination "publicly to withdraw all implied or supposed, voluntarily, political, or moral support of this enormous evil," "by refusing to support slavery, its principles, or its advocates, and by withholding Christian and church fellowship from all guilty of the sin of slavery."

The Free Protestant Methodist Church at its Annual Conference, in October last, denominated slavery as "a moral evil and a sin against God, who hath taught us 'to do unto all men as we would have them do unto us.'"

The Synod of Indiana (New School Presbyterian), among other resolutions on the subject of slavery, adopted the following at its last sitting:

“Resolved, That the next General Assembly be requested to advise the lower judicatories to take such judicious and firm measures as will free our churches from all participation in the sin of slaveholding.

“Resolved, That it is our opinion, that if something of this kind is not done at the next meeting of the Assembly, a very serious evil will result to the prosperity of the churches in our State, and also generally in the West.”

A secession from this church, has taken place on account of the unwillingness of the General Assembly to take decided ground against slavery; and the above resolutions show that many more who think the General Assembly has been remiss in its duty on this subject, will leave the church unless steps are taken to free it from the sin of slavery.

The secession, above mentioned, has been organized into a new church styled the Presbyterian Church of America. Neither slaveholders nor the advocates of slavery are permitted to become members.

The “Free Presbytery of Mahoning” is composed of ministers and elders, formerly connected with the Old School General Assembly, who withdrew from that body in June last, and now form one of the Presbyteries of the above named church. In a powerful address they defend their secession from a church which had declared that slaveholding “is no bar to christian communion.”

“No christian union with American slaveholders,” is a sentiment rapidly spreading among Northern christians. Rev. W. C. Tenney, a Unitarian minister in Maine, has published a very conclusive essay on this subject in the Boston “Christian World,” and this Society has recently published an able argument on the same subject by Rev. Silas McKean, an orthodox Congregationalist of Vermont.

The Maine Conference of the M. E. Church, has instructed its delegates to the General Conference “not to approve of any legislation in that body in relation to slavery, except for its extirpation,” and also recommended “not to consent to the establishment of any fraternal relations” with the Methodist E. Church South, on account of their claiming “that slavery, as it exists among them, is a divine institution.”

In many parts of the South, Christians are awakening to the wickedness of withholding religious privileges from the slaves, and although they do not take as high ground on the subject as we could wish, they have evidently made a considerable advance. The Dover Baptist Association (located in Southern

Virginia), in alluding to the fact that missionaries are sent out among the heathen, invokes all Christians to *do something* for the improvement of the colored race at home. It recommends that pious families should keep morning and evening worship, and have their slaves attend—that public preaching should be more adapted to them—that catechisms should be used in families and in the house of God—and that marriage should be honored among slaves. Much discussion has been had in public meetings, newspapers, &c, in Charleston, on the subject of giving the slaves religious instruction. A writer in the Charleston Evening News, in an article on the subject, says “the time is near at hand when no institution can long endure in the civilized world which is inconsistent with the spread of knowledge and religion. The true policy and the best security of the South, is to maintain that slavery is consistent with everything good, and that we are not afraid to give the slave the word of God!” He says, “the moment the South admits that we dare not, our doom is sealed!”

While we could multiply such evidences of the advancement of the anti-slavery cause, we cannot but regret that among many of the religious bodies of this country there is still a disposition to countenance slaveholding. We cannot but look upon their conduct, as well as on that of individual pro-slavery professors with heart-felt sorrow.

Public attention has been drawn, more than at any previous time, towards the obligation of circulating the Bible among the slave population. The South begins to feel that “considerations of sound policy, as well as Christian obligation” require attention to this subject. Some Christians in that portion of the country realize the duty of supplying slaves with the Bible, and are doing it to a limited extent. At the North, unwonted interest has been manifested on the subject. The AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY has been urged to take up the matter. In their monthly “RECORD,” under the head of “Slaves,” they acknowledge receipts for this purpose; but in a circular issued some months since, they say, “local distributions should be made under the direction of the auxiliaries—on these organizations at the South, devolves the duty, beyond doubt, of supplying the slave population of that region—so far as this work is to be done,” and they request that contributors to the income of the Society would not *restrict* their contributions to this object, as the funds must remain in part unexpended. It has also been stated to applicants, at the Bible House,

that they have no FUND for slaves, that they do not intend to have, and rather than have, they would prefer to return to the donors money sent for that object. At the same time it is but just to say that the Managers of the American Bible Society resolve that they will promptly avail themselves of every opportunity to further the distribution of the Bible among the slave population at the South, and that copies will be supplied to any responsible person for that object. The Secretary acknowledges that the applications of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY have done good, and the Managers avow, in the circular, that "so far as there are colored freemen, or slaves within the limits of an auxiliary, who can be reached, who are capable of reading the blessed word of God and are without it, they should unquestionably be furnished with it as well as any other class of our ruined race." It is hoped that those members of the Bible Society who are friendly to the circulation of the Bible among the slaves will urge upon the Managers the duty of having a copy of the Holy Scriptures put into the hands of every slave who can read, either by the auxiliaries or some other agency.

The Executive Committee of the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION have directed their Treasurer to open an account with the SLAVES' BIBLE FUND, and receive moneys for supplying the slaves with Bibles. They will also ascertain in what part of the South the slave population can be reached by distributors, and take measures to supply the slaves with Bibles to the extent of the means furnished for this purpose.

Enthusiastic meetings have been held at Washington and in various parts of the country, to express sympathy with the people of France in their present effort to establish a republican government. Excited by such popular demonstrations, or goaded by atrocious acts of cruelty and perfidy on the part of masters, about eighty slaves, in different families, embarked on board a Northern vessel lying in the river Potomac, and attempted to achieve their liberty. They were pursued, overtaken, and put into one of the Washington jails. Mr. Giddings, a member of the House of Representatives, proposed, in a resolution, the appointment of a committee to inquire by what authority a prison which was built by the nation's money, and under the control of the laws and officers of the United States, was used for the purpose of confining persons who had attempted to escape from slavery. The House, "amidst roars of laughter," refused to consider the resolution. Most of these slaves had been reared in respectable families in the District and

adjoining States, and some of them had been nurses and body servants. "But the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." The claimants lost no time in bargaining with the slave-traders and soul-drivers who throng the capital, and these unhappy men, women, and children were hurried off to the far South. Even the youthful daughter of a favorite nurse in the family of ex-President Madison, who had closed the dying statesman's eyes, was among the victims—sold by the ex-President's widow! Others were sold by persons who in that community are considered pious and respectable. The three northern men who undertook to befriend these slaves and conduct them to a free state, are not forgotten by the liberty-loving people of the North. A public meeting of the citizens of Boston has been held in "the old cradle of liberty," Faneuil Hall, and a large and influential committee appointed to collect money and employ counsel "for the purpose of defending these men, and of bringing before the Supreme Court of the United States the question of the legality of slavery in the District of Columbia," a matter of immense importance in reference not only to that District, but to the territory about to be wrested from Mexico. It is hoped that ample means will be promptly furnished, and able counsel employed, to enable the committee to defend the men now lying in jail, and to obtain a legal decision of the great matters in question by the highest judicial tribunal of the country.

In the events of the past year many new and sorrowful evidences of the cruelties of slavery, and its corrupting influences upon politicians and Christians, have been developed. The violence of southern members of Congress, and the servility of northern "dough-faces," have been evinced to an unusual degree. The insults and menaces of the Hotspurs of the south toward the only truly independent and fearless member of the Senate, and the free intrepid friends of liberty in the House of Representatives, have exceeded, if possible, the assaults of former years, although it is manifest that the general feeling toward anti-slavery men in Congress is ameliorated. The introduction of a bill in the Senate, soon after the slave mob, copied from a law of Maryland, and similar in its provisions to laws existing in several of the states, making the towns in the District of Columbia responsible for property destroyed in them by mobs, was the occasion of a furious debate. The bill was denounced as "an attack on southern rights"—a measure to prevent their "just indignation from wreaking vengeance"—"a disrespect of

the provisions of the constitution in their favor!" A southern senator, named Foote, referring to Mr. Hale, said, "Let him visit the state of Mississippi, in which I have the honor to reside, and no doubt he will be received with such hosannas and shouts of joy as have rarely marked the reception of any individual in this day and generation. I invite him then, and will tell him before hand, in all honesty, that *he could not go ten miles into the interior before he would grace one of the tallest trees of the forest with a rope around his neck, with the approbation of every virtuous and patriotic citizen; and that, if necessary, I should myself assist in the operation.*"

While the question whether new territory shall be devoted to freedom or slavery, is agitated by the country, we learn that southerners are aiming to settle the controversy by going with their slaves to California. Some of them have even taken their slaves to Oregon, to that part of Texas above $36^{\circ} 30'$, and to the North-west Territory—the propagandists of the "peculiar institution" being, in the latter case, missionaries and United States' officers! How long will the people of the United States slumber in inactivity, while the vigilance of the slave-holding interest is ever watchful, ever encroaching, and therefore ever successful! Will they consent that slavery shall for ever extend and strengthen itself, rule the nation, and blast the fair fame of this Republic? Calculating that all the slave-holders in the United States are voters, the proportion of slave-holding votes is *only* one to *ten*! But as a large proportion of the slave-holders are widows and minors, the proportion of slaveholding voters is not more than 1 to 15 or 20 of the non-slaveholding voters. Freemen of the north! will you longer permit so small a part of the electors in this country to control your political affairs, to make war and extend slavery at pleasure, to dishonor the names of the fathers of our country, and bring the nation under everlasting reproach?

The heartless message of the Governor of Virginia recommending the Legislature to adopt measures for driving the free colored people from that state, and the adoption of a clause in the new constitution of Illinois, giving the Legislature power to prohibit free colored persons from settling in that state, are evidences of the prevalence of pro-slavery feelings which we record with regret. The recommendation of Governor Smith, however, was disregarded by the Virginia Legislature, and a Virginia newspaper pronounced the idea of the forcible expulsion of the colored people to be barbarous and unchristian. We

trust no Legislature of Illinois will ever be inclined to exert the power given it by the new constitution.

The hardening influence which slavery has upon all the better feelings of southern men perhaps cannot be better illustrated than by the case of William Clark, formerly a slave of Bishop Andrews, though nominally belonging to his brother-in-law. Clark was a licensed minister. Wishing to learn to read the Bible, in order to be better qualified for the performance of his ministerial duties, he requested the privilege of being taught. The only reply was a threat to sell him if he ever mentioned the subject again! Afterwards he asked to be emancipated, which so exasperated his reverend master, that he drew the dirk, which he was accustomed to carry, and struck his "Christian brother" with it. It may not be uninteresting to state that shortly afterwards, Mr. Clark, finding a good opportunity to be free, "chose it rather," and successfully asserted, with his heels, his right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The suppression of a little book entitled "Jacob and his Sons," by the American S. S. Union, at the request of a southern Vice-President, and under the threats of a southern press, because it contained a definition of slavery, both true and legal, and intimated that the slaves "are obliged to work very hard, and sometimes the masters use them cruelly, beat them and starve them, and kill them," adds one more to the many acts of subserviency to the slave-power already recorded against the ecclesiastical bodies of this country. An account of this disgraceful measure has just been published by the Society, in a tract entitled, "Letters respecting a Book dropped from the Catalogue," &c.

The visit of the Rev. S. B. Treat, one of the Secretaries of the American Board, to the Choctaw nation, to inquire into the nature of the relation of the missionaries of the Board and of the missionary churches to slavery, has developed some new facts. It appears that the Choctaw Indians are as sensitive to any interference with the "peculiar institution" as the whites of the South. They have laws forbidding missionaries from publicly favoring "the most fatal and destructive doctrines of abolitionism"—forbidding the teaching of slaves to read *or sing*—and imposing a fine of \$500 on any person who employs a free colored man! Mr. Treat has made some public statements of his visit to the Choctaws, but has not, as we have learned, given any information about the connexion of the missionary churches with slavery, or the support given to

the Choctaw slave code by elders of churches. The public will look with great interest to the developments that may be made, and we trust no time will be lost in frankly and fully acquainting them with the facts in the case. "If the Committee," (alluding to the Prudential Committee of the American Board) says one of its friends residing in the Choctaw nation, "do not act now, it will not be for want of information."

The question whether slavery should be extended over the territory, now free, which the United States expect Mexico will yield, has agitated the whole country during the past year. The majority of Southern politicians have expressed a determination to support no man for the Presidency who is opposed to the extension of slavery over new territory. For the sake of political power they would inflict the curse of slavery upon territory now free. Throughout the North, the general sentiment of all parties is averse to giving up free territory to slavery. The Legislatures of most of the Northern States have passed resolutions by very decisive majorities in favor of the "Wilmot proviso," or, in other words, against the farther extension of slavery. Large conventions of the Whig and Democratic parties have expressed the same views in the most emphatic manner. The question has been thoroughly discussed by the people, and as they, through these discussions, become better informed on the subject of slavery, that institution becomes more odious to them.

It is gratifying to perceive that the influential leaders of those portions of the political parties hitherto hostile to anti-slavery movements, in their recent addresses, oral and written, adopt the principles, and often use the language, that have been current among abolitionists the last fourteen years, and give evidence that anti-slavery literature has been well read and digested by them. That portion of the political press, favorable to these divisions of party, also advocate the anti-slavery cause, with zeal and ability. And it is not against the extension of slavery, merely, that these politicians and editors inveigh. In opposing that, they have been led to examine the question of slavery, as an established system within the limits of their country, and have been led by the force of truth to see its intrinsic demerits, its opposition to free institutions, its meanness, its anti-republican and anti-christian character. Men, from both of the old political parties, are taking right ground, and we fervently hope that their ranks will swell until they have not only influence but control in the councils of the nation.

The National Liberty Convention, held at Buffalo in October last, and composed of delegates from all the free States, nominated the Hon. JOHN P. HALE of New Hampshire for President, and Hon. LEICESTER KING of Ohio for Vice President. Mr. Hale, by his manly opposition to the annexation of Texas and earnest advocacy of liberty in New Hampshire, had become endeared to the abolitionists of the country; and the ability and faithfulness with which, as a United States Senator, he has opposed the present iniquitous war, and advocated the cause of freedom, is ample evidence that the confidence reposed in him was not misplaced. Mr. King has long been a liberty man, has been several times the candidate of the Liberty party for Governor of Ohio, and would adorn the station for which he is nominated.

It is gratifying to know that benevolent individuals have gone from this country and fixed their abode in Canada, to instruct the colored people, large numbers of whom are fugitives from slavery, in the rudiments of knowledge, in the Christian religion, in agriculture, and the mechanic arts. Contributions of useful articles and money are frequently made as well for the teachers as the fugitives, and a continuance of these benefactions is strongly recommended.

The Committee are also pleased to notice the laudable efforts made by the free people of color in the Northern States, to rise in intellectual, moral and religious character, and that amidst so many discouragements they resolve on remaining in the country of their birth, and have faith that, ultimately, justice will be done to them and to their brethren in bonds. Education and industry, by the blessing of God, will enable them to rise in spite of all adverse circumstances, and we earnestly hope that the friends of the colored race will aid them liberally in all judicious efforts to acquire useful trades, to educate their children, to occupy posts of respectability, to maintain their legal rights; that they will, by precept and example, evince that they judge men by their moral characters rather than by their complexion, and will frown indignantly upon all attempts in churches or schools, or elsewhere, to tolerate caste.

The Committee appeal to Christians of every denomination to adopt, and maintain the great principles of human rights in all their social, religious, and political relations. They appeal especially to ministers of the Gospel to proclaim the truth fearlessly and unceasingly on this great subject. One of their own number in this country has said, "there is no power out of

the church that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained by it.”* Shall it be, dear brethren, that all American churches remain the “bulwark of American slavery?” Remember that the means of all reform are in the hands of the King of Zion, and “all the churches shall know, that it is He which searches the reins and the hearts.” One of the New England Statesmen said ‘in his palmy days, on Plymouth Rock, with reference to the slave trade, what might with equal propriety be said of slavery,’ “If the Pulpit be silent, whenever, and wherever, there may be a sinner bloody with this guilt, within the hearing of its voice, the Pulpit is false to its trust.”†

We will not despond. He that is for us is greater than he that is against us. We will hope and pray that this favored country will not be the last refuge of slavery. Let us press on—persevere—assured that the cause of truth and freedom will prevail. It is the cause of God. Let it be our consolation and honor, that while reckless and selfish politicians sacrifice every thing for personal and party advancement—while nominal Christians vie with politicians in running the race of popularity, we are true to principle, the rights of man, the law of God. Let us look forward with cheerful hope, and undying faith, to the period when our nation shall be truly, as it is rhetorically, free, and when equity, justice, humanity, and a pure Christianity shall, in practice as well in theory, distinguish us as a people.

Then shall a shout of joy go up,
 The wild glad cry of Freedom come
 From hearts long crushed by cruel hands,
 And songs from lips long sealed and dumb;
 And every bondman's chain be broke,
 And every soul that moves abroad
 In this wide realm shall know and feel
 The blessed liberty of God.

For the Executive Committee,

LEWIS TAPPAN,
 Acting Corresponding Secretary.

* Albert Barnes.

† Daniel Webster.

PUBLIC BREAKFAST.

A breakfast was served up on Wednesday morning, at 7 1-2 o'clock, at the large hall in the Coliseum, No. 450 Broadway. About four hundred persons, of both sexes, sat down at four long tables. Several colored clergymen, with their families, and several other respectable persons of color, were seated at the tables. A prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Garnet, of Troy, and a hymn (173, from *Freedom's Lyre*) was sung by the choir, in which the audience took part, the following being the first verse :—

“Break ev'ry yoke,” the Gospel cries,
“And let th' oppress'd go free;
Let ev'ry burden'd captive rise,
And taste sweet Liberty.”

At the conclusion of the repast, spirited addresses were made by several gentlemen. The “Hutchinson Family,” forming part of the company, volunteered several songs, which gave increased animation to the entertainment.

Mr. Hale, being loudly called for, made a few remarks, enlarging upon some points in his speech of yesterday, and enforcing them by several new and strong considerations. He urged his hearers to individual action—to feel their personal responsibility—and to more vigorous efforts to diffuse anti-slavery sentiments at home, in the social circle, in each one's neighborhood,—and especially urged that each man should *vote* rightly. Some men, he said, will pray fervently for the downfall of slavery, and then go to the polls and deposit a ballot for some slaveholder! Be sure, said he, to CARRY YOUR RELIGION TO THE BALLOT-BOX. He spoke also of the avowals made by leading politicians of the South that the war was occasioned by the annexation of Texas—“We wanted Texas, and we would have it.” After an eloquent address, Mr. Hale retired, amid great cheering.

Dr. Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, was then called upon to address the meeting. He hung back, but the audience would take no denial. The Doctor began by saying he hardly knew why he was placed in the Tribune. The chairman said,

"We want to know one thing of you, Mr. Editor, *will you remove that Press?*" (Great cheering). Dr. B. replied "I will tell you before I sit down." He then spoke of some discouraging aspects of the cause, and among them the divisions among anti-slavery people, which he sincerely deprecated, and considered highly disadvantageous to the cause in several respects. He also spoke of the dissemination of anti-slavery sentiments, and presented several encouraging views. He was listened to with great attention and respect, and at the conclusion, was much applauded.

Mr. JOHN H. W. HAWKINS, the well known temperance lecturer, being present, expressed a wish to address the meeting. As one of the six pioneers of the great Washingtonian reform, his name was widely known. He said it was the first time he had ever addressed an anti-slavery meeting, but he trusted that it would not be the last! (Great applause). He had travelled very extensively throughout a large part of the country—had made made many hundred temperance addresses—had conversed with a vast number of persons, and he must say that *he had never met with an anti-slavery man who was not also a true-hearted temperance man.* (Immense cheering.) Why, said he, how could it be otherwise? Is not every drunkard a slave? How natural it is that the friends of the colored bondman should also strive to remove the shackles from the white bondman. For one, said Mr. H., I intend henceforth to battle against slavery under all circumstances, without reference to complexion or condition. You may be sure of me. I rejoice in my own escape from thralldom, and I will labor for the emancipation of my fellow men, be they black or white. Let us go for freedom, and we shall live to see the day when there shall not be a drunkard or a slave in the country! He concluded a very spirited address, amid great applause.

Dr. VIONIS, of France, was then invited to address the meeting. He spoke in tolerably good English, interspersed with several French words. His appropriate action and expressive countenance, however, seemed to translate his sentiments, as he proceeded, and the audience evinced that they understood the heart of the speaker, if not his mind fully, by their enthusiastic and repeated cheers. Dr. V. spoke of the great interest he felt in all moral and political reforms;—he said he loved the temperance cause and the anti-slavery cause, and wished to do all he could to unloose the fetters from the minds and bodies of his fellow men of every nation. He

was personally acquainted with one or more members of the Provisional Government of France, and he was well assured these were their sentiments. (Great applause.)

WM. S. CHAPLIN, Esq., was next called upon. The chairman introduced him as a veteran in the cause—as a cosmopolite indeed, but one who could say with Franklin, “Where liberty is, there is my country.” (Applause.) He made a happy address, stating many facts that had fallen under his observation at Washington and elsewhere, both of a melancholy and cheering aspect. The audience appeared highly delighted with this animated speech.

REV. MR. GARDNER made a few remarks, and was listened to with much attention.

REV. MR. GONSALVES, a native of the Island of Madeira, who is a missionary, and has travelled in the Southern States, and in foreign countries where slavery once prevailed, made a short address. He spoke of the fact that white men now labor at New Orleans and in other parts of the South, to a greater extent than formerly, and of the improved treatment of slaves, resulting from anti-slavery action at the North. He gave his unqualified testimony to the benefits of emancipation, and stated that wherever he travelled he did not hesitate to declare his sentiments in the pulpit and elsewhere, against the enormities of slavery, and in favor of the blessedness of freedom, as became a minister of Christ, and he hoped he should never shrink from doing his duty in this respect.

MR. STANTON made a few remarks, and excused himself from speaking at greater length on account of the lateness of the hour.

After about two hours spent in this social and intellectual manner, the company separated, apparently much delighted.

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

A meeting of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held immediately after the close of the meeting above mentioned, in the hall of the Coliseum, agreeably to adjournment. In the absence of the President, the chair was occupied by Rev. David Root, of Guilford, Conn.

On motion it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report, an abstract of which was read at the public meeting yesterday, be printed and circulated under the direction of the Executive Committee.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated letters from Hon. J. R. Giddings, M. C. ; Hon. Amos Tuck, M. C. ; Samuel Lewis, Esq., of Cincinnati ; Rev. J. G. Fee, of Kentucky ; William Goodell, of Honeoye, New York ; Dr. Dwight Baldwin, Missionary to the Sandwich Islands ; John Scoble, Esq. Corresponding Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, London ; Ezra Hoyt, Esq., of Walton, New York ; and other friends of the cause.

The Treasurer's report was referred to the Executive Committee.

A Committee on Nominations was chosen, whose report was accepted and adopted.*

On motion, the meeting was adjourned without day.

DAVID ROOT, Chairman.

WILLIAM E. WHITING, Sec'y, pro tem.

* For list of Officers, thus reported, see page 3.